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Military Review

NAPOLEON ONCE SAID that of the three classes of natural obstacles, a river is by far the easiest with which to deal. It might be added that the difficulties of the defense increase in direct proportion to the length of the river. It invites a commander to distribute his forces in a long, thin line, nowhere strong, capable of being penetrated at a number of points by concentrated thrusts. Perhaps the best solution of the problem of linear defense was that arrived at by the Germans in the days before the invasion of the west—a strong line of fortifications, lightly held by troops whose business is to fight delaying actions, with powerful and mobile reserves in the rear, prepared to strike in force at the head of any penetration.

The key word is "mobile." The method, which worked very well against the first tentative Russian counter-attacks in the spring of 1942, failed as against the invasion of Normandy because the Luftwaffe was unable to give enough protection to enable the Germans to keep their reserves mobile. The defense of the Saar, also turned into linear warfare by the fortifications, collapsed not so much from a lack of reserves —though that was certainly a factor—as from the Germans' complete inability to manipulate the troops they did have. The Third and Seventh Armies took more than 100,000 prisoners in their push to the Rhine; something better than eight full-strength divisions, as German divisions run. In that broken country, with the whole area fortified, this should have been adequate to hold the entire Saar, provided only they could move around enough to make tactical combinations.

The same features are apparent in the complete Nazi failure to prevent the passage of the Rhine. Given their lack of mobility, the Remagen bridgehead exercised a constricting influence on the whole system of the defense. They were forced to oppose that incursion along the line of the Sieg in order to have the bulk of their reserves far enough north to make some defense of the Ruhr. They were unable to get whatever reserves they have in interior Germany down to the banks of the upper Rhine in time to prevent Patton and the French from winning crossings against the remnants of the armies so completely shattered in the Saar.

The bridging of the historic river is thus less a great military achievement in itself than the fruit of the victories that have gone before. But the manner in which it was accomplished is worth considerable admiration as an example of the intelligent use of superior force to reach an objective with minimum loss. The 65-mile smoke screen maintained for days, was completely novel; so was the concept of crossing simultaneously at many points; and the air-borne forces were used with a brilliance in sharp contrast to last fall's fiasco at Arnhem. The net result is that the Allied armies are over the Rhine ready to conduct a field campaign at once, without the pause for reorganization usual in such cases, which even the Russians found necessary at the Oder.

A large part of the credit, of course, goes to the air forces which destroyed German mobility; and this, incidentally, throws a back-light onto the tank controversy which has been going on for some time and which was summed up a few days ago in a series of articles by Hanson W. Baldwin in the New York

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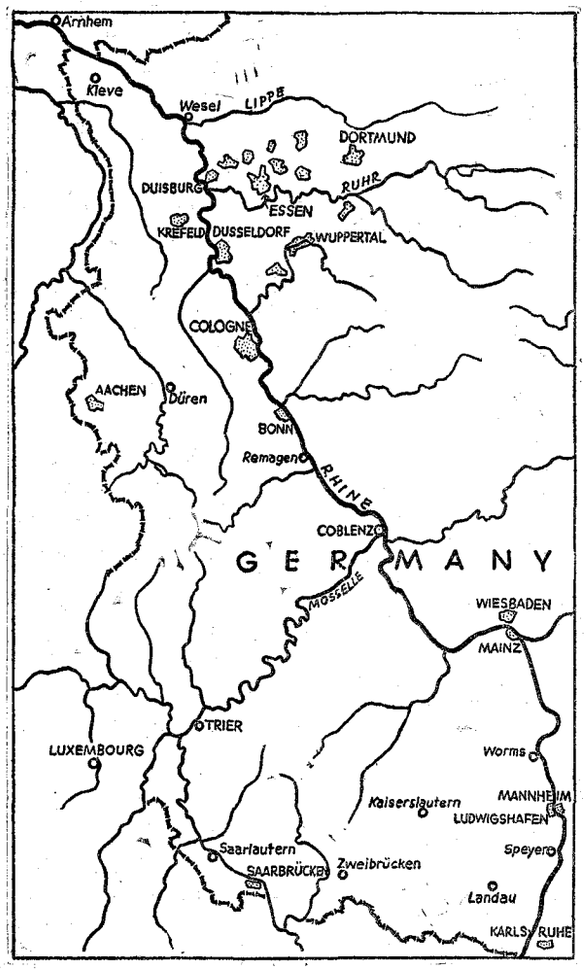
Times. Quoting a large number of tankmen who have handled the Sherman in battle, he charges that it is hopelessly inferior to the German Tiger in protection, in gun-power and in flotation, and though he gives suspended judgment on the new Pershing tank, it is evidently his opinion that it will not prove much of an improvement. There have been better designs on the drawing board for a matter of years, he says; they have not been put into production because of official bumbling and the unwillingness of the high command to hear criticism.

Some of this bites harder and is lent added point by Mr. Drew Pearson's disclosure that over a year ago the army closed down several of its heavy-artillery shell-loading plants. (Shells for heavy artillery were precisely the item on which the army was complaining of shortages last December.) But the Baldwin criticism overlooks the fact that the American conception of armored warfare is radically different from the German, and our tankmen have no more business taking their vehicles into action against the superior German armor than had Beatty to try to fight German battleships with his lightly armored battle-cruisers at Jutland. It is perhaps asking too much to expect any military officer to run away when such a contact occurs. They will go in and fight and then complain about having inferior weapons; but the fact remains that the American type of tank was conceived with a different purpose in view, and that on the whole they have done very well what they were intended to do. There have been few complaints from General Patton, and General Eisenhower has now twice supported our version of the tank against its detractors.



Across the Rhine

General Montgomery, who is not exactly famous for his pessimism, thinks that the crossing of the Rhine may be the opening of the final campaign. Whether or not this is true, the attack could not possibly have come at a worse moment for the Nazis. The bulk of their armor appears to be in the east, where the Soviets have it well pinned down. The new formations made up out of freshly drafted troops and those taken from the service of supply last fall are not yet ready for battle, and the passage of the river has committed them to a campaign of field maneuvers in which the demands both for armor and experienced infantry are bound to be severe.

The American concept of tank warfare has been not to treat the armored force as if it were an autonomous element, fighting a war almost as much divorced from the rest as a navy operating at sea, but as a group playing a specialized part in a complex of force. It is the function of the air arm to deny mobility to the enemy; it is the purpose of the armored divisions to obtain it for ourselves. The Sherman may be "only a little faster" than the Tiger; but that little turns out to be seven miles an hour on the roads, and when this figure is multiplied by several hours of moving battle, you get the crash of the Nazi armies in the Palatinate.

Food Abroad

Why is there a shortage of food over such a large part of the world's area? There are at least seven reasons, as follows: 1. About 60 million able-bodied young men have left productive work and gone into the business of war; at least half of them were farmers, and millions more were engaged in transportation and distribution of food. 2. Armies eat more and better food than civilians; for example, our soldiers are eating more than three times as much meat as is now available for American civilians. 3. Many millions of acres of farm land have been put out of use through war destruction; some of it, planted with mines or invaded by the sea, will not be usable for years to come. 4. Some countries formerly got food from what are now enemy regions. Thus Great Britain got 10 percent of her food from Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands; India got rice from southern Burma, and so on. 5. The worldwide shortage of shipping makes it harder to carry food overseas, as used to be done, especially from Australia, Argentina, the United States and Canada. 6. In the liberated countries in particular, the breakdown in transportation makes it impossible to get adequate distribution of such food as exists. 7. As we push our enemies back, the demands on the food available to the Allies become greater; we are now feeding 100 million more people than we were a couple of years ago.

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Food at Home

Why is there a shortage in the United States? 1. Eleven million are in the armed services, nearly all of them eating far more and better food than they have ever seen before. 2. Millions of other war workers have an expanded income and are also eating more and better. 3. Those who profit by war prosperity or inflation, or both, are living well. 4. The flourishing black market in food makes for unequal distribution, some getting too much and others too little. 5. The transportation shortage accentuates inequality. 6. Eight percent of our food goes abroad on Lend-Lease, partially offset by food that is provided elsewhere, Australia and Great Britain for example, for the use of American soldiers.

American meat packers and cattlemen loudly insist that production of food has been handicapped by the price policy of the OPA, but there is no statistical evidence of this. Food production in 1943 was 12 percent higher than the 1938-'42 average and in '44, 14 percent. These increases were partly the result of miraculous weather, which we can hardly expect again in '45.

Both Houses of Congress have started investigations of the food situation, which should serve to answer the charge that food producers are not getting enough money. In the meantime, two things are clear. The American people are luckier than almost anybody else on earth; while we shall be on short rations, nobody will starve in this country. And, as President Roosevelt said, in the name of common decency we must and will pull our belts tighter to help, as much as possible, people less fortunate in other parts of the world.

The Senate and Aubrey Williams

The Senate vote of 52 to 36 against the confirmation of Aubrey Williams as Rural Electrification Administrator brings to an end one of the most scandalous chapters in recent Senate history. The technique of the repeated lie could not have been used more effectively by the Nazi experts themselves. Day after day United States Senators rose to make charges of "radicalism," "racism" and "incompetence" which had been disproved on the same floor in their presence several times before. It is not surprising that some of the unreconstructed Southern bourbons were turned against Williams on the grounds that he is for a fair deal for all Americans, poor or rich, black or white. But it is surprising that only four Republicans out of all the Senate—Aiken, Morse, Langer and Young—voted for this admirable American citizen.

The fight against Williams has made clearer than ever the job the progressives have to do. Toryism cuts across party and sectional lines; the fight for a better America must do the same. Aubrey Williams goes back to his job as director of organization of the National Farmers' Union, and president Jim Patton has publicly stated that the lesson of his defeat will not be forgotten. What we need first and most is a better Congress; it is not too early to begin planning and working now for the election of November, 1946.

The Alcoa Case

After twelve years of litigation the Aluminum Company of America, sole manufacturer of aluminum in the United States from 1888 to 1940, has been declared to be a monopoly in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The decision, handed down by a Federal Circuit Court of Appeals on behalf of the Supreme Court, which had disqualified itself, was long overdue. It represents a great victory for the Department of Justice and the public interest. However, for immediate action, the decision is inconclusive. As Judge Learned Hand pointed out, "it would be particularly fatuous to prepare a plan now, even if we could be sure that eventually some form of dissolution would be proper. Dissolution is not a penalty but a remedy." While the court served notice of its intention to entertain a motion for dissolution if Alcoa were still a monopoly after the war, it gave as reason for the postponement of such action the fact that of the country's 2,300-million-pound annual capacity for aluminum production, more than half is owned by the government. In other words, we now have in the publicly owned plants potential "yardsticks" which can guarantee a free and competitive aluminum industry.

Natchez Needs It

Richard Wright, a Negro, author of *Native Son*, is one of the important living American novelists. His autobiography, *Black Boy*, recently published by Harper and Brothers, has been widely praised as an outstanding work. Wright was born in Natchez, Mississippi, and there seems little doubt that he is by far the most distinguished living individual to come from that community. Yet when Harper and Brothers sought to advertise *Black Boy* in the Natchez *Democrat*, as they had done in many other Southern cities, including Atlanta, Nashville, Chattanooga, Dallas and Memphis, they received a curt note of refusal from Mr. J. L. Lambert of the *Democrat*. "We regret," said Mr. Lambert, "we are unable to use this copy as it is against our policy." A telegram from the *New Republic* to the *Democrat* asking an explanation had not been answered up to the time of going to press. Mr. Wright's book, among other things, is a plea for tolerance, understanding and justice between races.

The Enemies of Bretton Woods

If the Senate is preparing to kill the Bretton Woods agreement on the ground that American business and financial interests oppose the Monetary Fund, it is making a serious miscalculation. The big-business farm organization which has been allied with conservatives on almost every question—the American Farm Bureau

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Federation—has announced its support of the plan. So have the flour millers. Many important bankers favor it; among them are those who prepared the report, mainly favorable, of the CED. To be sure, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which recommends postponement of the Monetary Fund, means by this action to kill it. But those who prepared this report are inspired by the same sources who drafted the hostile report for the American Bankers' Association—which, by the way, has not as a whole endorsed the recommendations of its committee. The enemies of the Monetary Fund are really a small group of men who manage to put on a number of disguises through their influence in several organizations. If Congress were to inquire carefully into the matter, it would probably discover that the chief opposition stems, not from bankers or businessmen at all, but from a few antediluvian economists —theoreticians "who never had to meet a payroll."

On War and Politics

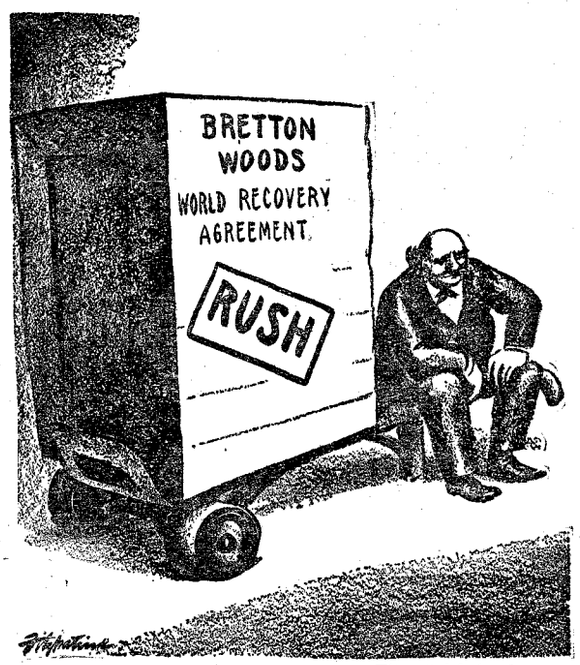
THE HUE AND CRY is ever more frequently raised nowadays that the plan for an international-security organization drafted at Dumbarton Oaks institutionalizes a system in which the so-called small nations are at the mercy of the big powers. It is perfectly correct that the Dumbarton Oaks scheme makes the maintenance of peace and security the joint responsibility of the victorious big nations. The point really at issue, however, is not the big powers' ability to intervene in a small country's internal affairs, but the wise use of the power of intervention when a small country's domestic politics seem to endanger peace. The question immediately arises under what conditions a country's internal politics threatens peace and justifies foreign interference.

The question is not an academic one. In the society of modern nation-states war is essentially the continuation of foreign policy by means of violence. In turn, a country's foreign policy is largely determined by what is called its "vital interests," which are the direct outgrowth of its domestic policy. The suspension of war does not necessarily change a country's foreign or domestic policy. Since the problems of war, foreign policy and domestic politics are closely interrelated, the legal fiction that a country is as free as it pleases in its internal affairs, can be a serious obstacle to peace. For instance, every acute observer of Germany's internal politics between 1933 and 1939 predicted that the Nazi regime would have to go to war in order to satisfy its basic political assumptions. Had the Allies intervened in time, war might have been avoided.

A genuinely democratic and peaceful country need not fear the intervention of a well intentioned big power. The recent Finnish elections are interesting in this connection. The issue at stake was Finland's readiness for peaceful coöperation with Russia. A few days before the elections, Premier Paasikivi had warned his people that "new men must be elected to the Diet instead of those who during the past years followed the wrong policy," so that "a coöperation policy can be followed which will arouse confidence in the Soviet Union and the other United Nations." The Finnish people took this advice to heart. The new pro-Soviet Democratic Union made a decisive show of strength. While the Social Democrats remain the numerically strongest party, they are split between the anti-Soviet diehards led by Vaino Tanner and those elements which, although not anti-Soviet, preferred to stay in the party for reasons of loyalty rather than join the Democratic Union.

What would have happened if the elections had strengthened the anti-democratic and anti-Soviet forces? They were certainly a test case of a big power's sincerity in abiding by the results of a free expression of the people's will. *Pravda* bluntly stated the alternative on March 12, saying that "under the present circumstances the elections in Finland cannot be considered as Finland's exclusively internal affair." In other words, no country, big or small, can be permitted to have just any government it pleases. As it is the responsibility of the big nations to use their power wisely in their relations with the small nations, so the latter are equally obligated to conduct their internal affairs in a way which arouses confidence on the part of the big powers.

No such confidence was ever inspired by the Polish Government-in-Exile after the death of General Sikorski. It included many reactionary, if not fascist, politicians, who not only found themselves on the Allied side by accident rather than choice, but in constant



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

How Congress Delivers the Goods

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fits of megalomania missed every opportunity that was offered, by Russia as well as by the Anglo-American powers, to come to an understanding on Poland's eastern boundary. The result of this irresponsibility has been, in due time, the disintegration of the Polish Government-in-Exile, which is now only a shadow of its former self, and the establishment of a Russian puppet government which also inspires little confidence.

This was frankly recognized at Yalta and admitted by Stalin who, aware of Russia's responsibility as a great power, did not insist on keeping the Warsaw government, but consented to the inclusion of democratic leaders in exile. However, the settlement agreed on at Yalta is turning out to be much more difficult than expected. To a large extent this is due to a possibly fatal irresponsibility on the part of the Warsaw Poles. They are apparently opposed to the return of the very leader, ex-Premier Mikolajczyk, who is considered a good democrat by the Western powers and has their confidence. The Warsaw Poles, not quite sure of their own popularity, seem to fear that the Peasant Party leader might steal the show from them upon his return. Unlike the Finns, who are aware of their responsibility toward Russia, the Warsaw Poles are evidently not fully conscious of theirs toward the Anglo-American powers which want to see democracy in Poland before recognizing the new regime.

Democracy, then, is admittedly the best guarantee of a nation's peaceful intentions. The existence of regimes like the fascist government of General Franco in Spain or the semi-dictatorial government of General Plastiras in Greece threatens world peace. Spain has never concealed, in word or deed, her intention of displacing the United States as the leading continental power in the Western Hemisphere. The British-backed dictator of Greece, apparently in an effort to divert criticism from his domestic misdeeds, has recently tried to incite a desire for revenge among the Greek people against Bulgaria. A democratic government in Athens would not find it necessary to attack a democratic government in Sofia. The tension thus artificially stimulated is the first step toward war.

There is mounting evidence that the United States and Great Britain are blatantly misusing their power and responsibility when it comes to appeasing fascism and reaction. The old argument of non-intervention is specious. Uruguay's Foreign Minister, Dr. Jacobo Varela, has now officially disclosed that the only conditions for Argentina's participation in the United Nations conference at San Francisco are that she sign the Act of Chapultepec and declare war on the Axis. No demands were made, as was expected some months ago, for the holding of democratic elections. A regime which is known to be unpopular with Argentina's democratic masses and which does not inspire the least confidence, is safely in the saddle with the blessing of the American-led hemisphere security system. Only if and when fascist Argentina should attack one of her neighbors will she be brought to book.

Similarly irresponsible is the use Great Britain makes of her power in the Middle East, where she is giving moral comfort, if not actual aid, to the reactionary feudal ruling classes of the Arab states. Instead of taking the lead in working out a democratic solution of the Palestinian problem, responsibility for which she cannot evade, Great Britain is apparently permitting the Arab leadership to pursue its anti-Jewish policy without restraint. The Arab masses, of course, are not consulted. The latest reports from the Pan-Arab conference in Cairo indicate that an earlier Arab compromise proposal on Palestine has now been buried. Sheik Youssef Yussin, adviser to King Ibn Saud, was reported in *PM* of March 25 as saying: "Our attitude toward the Jews is the same as Europe's attitude. Ask any European what he thinks of the Jews. He is against them and so are we. The Jews do not have a shadow of a claim to Palestine. For two millenniums Palestine has been Arab. Palestine is not big enough for the Jews and Arabs."

We can see little difference between the Arab leadership which indulges in such anti-Semitic diatribes as these and the Nazis with whom the Arab states are at war. If Great Britain sponsored the new Pan-Arab League, it is her responsibility as the leading power in the Middle East to use that power wisely by finding a democratic compromise for Palestine. Both Zionists and Arabs, on the other hand, will also have to prove that they are willing to be responsible by accepting a compromise and making the necessary adjustments. Otherwise there can be no peace. As elsewhere, the best gurantee for peace is democracy. It is for this reason that the democratization of the Arab masses rather than appeasement of the Arab ruling classes is Britain's responsibility, just as a democratic solution is Russia's in Poland and ours in Argentina.

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A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, HELEN FULLER (Washington)

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

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Will We Coöperate with Britain?

Now, near the end of our rapid journey through British postwar thinking, we are at last ready to survey the possibilities of foreign policy in trade and finance. The first step was to understand that the British intend to maintain full employment and a higher standard of living than before the war. The second step was to appreciate that they cannot do so without a tremendous increase in their exports. The third step was to see that the chief requirement for such an increase is that the United States must also maintain full employment and avoid depression.

But here the British face a genuine dilemma. The point of view of the American government, as expressed by Cordell Hull, has consistently been that in order to expand world trade it is necessary to avoid trade barriers like high tariffs, exchange control and bilateral barter agreements. This official doctrine has become strengthened with the years and is now supported by leading American industrialists and bankers. It is identical with the thesis of classical economics, that the more nearly trade among nations can be conducted with the same freedom as trade within a nation, the larger its volume will be and the greater will be the benefit to all.

Such a policy is expected, for instance, to promote the specialization of each region in the production of those things which it can make best and cheapest, and the exchange of these products for those of regions which are better equipped to make other types of goods. This theory has long been supported by British authorities, and it actually governed British policy for many decades when the United States was attempting to obstruct imports into this country by protective duties. Its approximate validity is still recognized by the most influential British economists and many of the political leaders.

The dilemma arises from the fact that freedom of trade is now recognized as not the only, or perhaps even the chief, condition of a healthy and expanding economy. Within the vast trading area of the United States there are no problems of fluctuating exchanges because it enjoys a single monetary system. There are no protective tariffs along state boundaries and no bilateral trade agreements between states. Other obstructions to the flow of goods and payments are relatively few. Yet the United States during the decade before the war suffered a worse depression than any other nation in the world. This depression was not primarily caused by trade barriers, or indeed by anything which happened outside its boundaries. In so far as other nations were closely connected with the trading area of the United States, they suffered the consequences of this depression. The British therefore do not regard reduction of trade barriers as a solution of their problem, so long as they are uncertain whether closer trade affiliation with other nations, and particularly with the United States, may not subject them to similar misfortune.

Two questions are uppermost in the minds of the British in facing this dilemma. The first is how great a risk they would be taking if they became more closely integrated with the American economy by committing themselves to multilateral freedom of trade. The second is how feasible it would be to insulate themselves against this risk.

A number of schools of thought are derived from varying answers to these two questions. One, which is highly vocal and has a considerable following both among business interests who would normally support empire preference and among laborites who distrust classical economics anyway, holds that the risk is entirely too great to be undertaken and that it is both necessary and possible for Britain to insulate herself against the danger of an American depression. At the other extreme is a group which is so convinced of the necessity of coöperation with the United States, as well as of the benefits of freedom of trade, that it argues that no matter how great the risk may be it must be accepted.

Somewhere between is an influential group of economists who hold that Britain must be prepared either to coöperate or to insulate according to which direction the United States seems to be taking. They admit that the utmost possible efforts to protect the British people against an American depression would not succeed in preventing a reduction in the standard of living, but they believe that even at the worst, full employment can be maintained in the United Kingdom and that the country need not follow the United States all the way into the depths. In support of their position they cite the experience of 1929-38, when the curve of British exports followed closely the precipitous vagaries of the national income in this country, although the national income of the United Kingdom was much more steady. Finally, there are a few pessimists who are morally certain both that the United States will have a severe depression and that Great Britain cannot escape its effects.

What sort of measures could Britain take in an attempt to insulate herself against American depression? Of course, nobody believes it possible for the United Kingdom to build a self-contained economy by reducing its own imports and exports to a negligible quantity. Proposals run rather in the direction of creating an international trading area which, like the United States or Russia, would have a high degree of

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self-containment. The foundations of such a system already exist in what is known as the "sterling area." This includes British colonies and dominions and a few other countries such as Egypt, all of which follow parallel monetary policies and normally possess stability of exchange with the pound sterling. Imperial preference now grants members of the Empire lower duties among themselves than are charged to imports from outside. This system might be enlarged by the adhesion of Western European nations whose economies are closely connected with that of the British. It is suggested that each unit of this system should agree to follow a full-employment policy and adjust its governmental finances accordingly. A few nations, like Sweden, have already taken this direction, and it is believed that those which have been occupied by Germany and must now rebuild their economies could be brought into the arrangement.

There would still be a need for trade with nations outside the system, such as Argentina, which supplies England and Europe with large quantities of agricultural products, but these requirements would be taken care of by special arrangements. Proponents of the plan argue that it would be easy to negotiate such agreements because Britain's chief concern is to buy from abroad. She could, for instance, say to Argentina, we will take the beef, grain and other products which you have to sell, if you will let us pay for them by our manufactured goods which you need. A country like the United States, which will not admit Argentine beef and has a tendency to export without accepting anything in exchange, would be at a disadvantage in such competitive bargaining.

The result of a plan of this kind would be to increase trade among members of the system and to minimize exports to it from the United States. This would entail a loss to its members of potential markets in this country. But, it is argued, if the United States continues to try to limit its imports, the loss would not be important in view of the higher degree of economic security that would be achieved. For, if the United States were to suffer the depression which advocates of this plan expect, the fact that its imports from the British trading area were already at a minimum would mean that the area would have less to suffer from further diminution of those imports. It is admitted that a limited trading system of this kind would yield lower standards of living than a free trading area covering the whole world, provided that the world enjoyed stabilized prosperity. But it is contended that its standards of living would be higher than those attainable if production and consumption in the United States were to decline and be allowed to drag the full-employment economies into depression.

The devices at the disposal of such a policy were highly developed by Germany before the war. They are complex and varied, including exchange rigging of various kinds, bilateral trade agreements, and loans carrying obligations to buy in the lending country. The United States has made extensive use of this latter device through its Export-Import Bank. When it is objected that the victorious nations should not imitate Nazi economics, the answer is made that the end in view makes all the difference. Germany was concerned about building up the dominance of a single nation and of preparing for war. The proposed British scheme would work to the benefit of all concerned and would be open to all who wished to adhere to a full-employment economy. The only reason for excluding the United States would be that it failed to do so and hence had become a bad economic neighbor.

It is against the background of ideas like this that the Bretton Woods proposals must be seen. In essence, the draft of the Monetary Fund constituted a bargain between the Americans and the British. In it, the British agreed to work toward a truly international economic system, to abandon exchange controls and other discriminatory practices and to assist in the stabilization of the relative values of all exchanges, including the pound and the dollar. In return, the United States agreed to allow a limited flexibility in exchange rates, under international authority, and to permit the British to employ special control measures during a transitional period of five years. If the Monetary Fund is not ratified by Congress, Britain will be released from her promise to eschew discriminatory measures and to work toward international freedom of trade. In that case, Parliament will probably also refuse to ratify the agreement, on the ground that America is not in the mood for international coöperation, and Britain must look to her own salvation. Those Englishmen who favor insulation against the American economy will heave a sigh of relief. Even those who would greatly prefer a worldwide economic system, but believe that it may be necessary for Britain to take protective measures, are likely to conclude that it is just as well that the necessity of decision is postponed until it becomes more evident whether the United States seriously intends to maintain full employment.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, as distinguished from the Monetary Fund, is on the whole favored on both sides of the Atlantic. It is obvious to all that if the world is to have an expanding economy, there must be international investment, and that most of the funds must, for a considerable period of years, come from the United States. Investments by the International Bank, or guaranteed by it, would be non-discriminatory in the sense that the proceeds of the loans could be spent by the borrowers in any country. This is not true of loans from a purely American institution like the Export-Import Bank, which usually requires that the money it lends abroad be spent for American products. Such "tied loans" are just as discriminatory as the exchange

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controls and barter agreements to which the United States officially objects. Nevertheless, if the Monetary Fund is not ratified, and if, as a consequence, Britain goes in for the type of discriminatory measures which are available to her, the United States will undoubtedly retaliate by employing its surplus of capital to push American exports, and the International Bank will not play the role for which it was designed.

There is an imminent danger that the Western Allies in the present war will thus be split by the creation of two economic areas—one with Britain at its center, and the other consisting of the United States and its satellites. Each would be likely to employ against the other the powerful economic weapons at its disposal. It is impossible to suppose that serious bad feeling on both sides of the gulf would not result. Insufficiently high standards of living, unemployment or depression on either side of this economic boundary would be attributed to the policies adopted on the other and to unwillingness of the rival to coöperate. A gigantic trade war would be the successor to the war of bombers and tanks. The political safeguards of Dumbarton Oaks would sink into insignificance, and its foundation of harmony among the Big Three would be destroyed. No better way to prepare for another world war can be imagined.

Even the ideological setting for bad feeling would be ready-made. A Europe in which progressive labor movements would have a large, if not dominant place, and in which measures of social control in the common interest were prevalent, would feel resentful against a reactionary America bursting with natural resources, gold and capital, but unable to control its economy and attempting to enforce its disastrous economic dominance. An America wedded to slogans of private enterprise and traditional economic dogma would be aroused against the "unsound," "radical" and discriminatory practices of Europe.

An example of the sort of thing which maddens Englishmen of all shades of opinion was one of the early editorial comments of the New York *Times* on the Bretton Woods proposals. It criticized the Monetary Fund as a device which offered England a possible escape from the gold standard. According to the writer, Britain might follow fiscal policies of the Keynes type and so increase her costs, bring about an unbalance between her imports and her exports, and suffer exchange depreciation. In these circumstances, the remedy, according to the *Times*, ought to be applied in England herself by deflation of her internal prices and wages. But if, through the Monetary Fund, we were obligated to make loans to England, we should be supporting a fiscal policy of which we disapproved and relieving the exchange pressure on England which would enforce the desired readjustment.

To Englishmen, such comments mean that outmoded American ideas of monetary orthodoxy are to be imposed by American banking interests on Britain's internal economy. They do not regard the Keynes ideas as unsound, and will under no circumstances undergo deflation and depression for the sake of adherence to the gold standard. Even the gold standard, if it is to work, must be a two-way proposition. If the pound depreciates in relation to the dollar as a result of unbalanced trade, the dollar by the same token appreciates in relation to the pound. Under such circumstances, why is not the appropriate remedy more spending in the United States and an increase in American prices? If the United States expects, as this editorial seems to assume, that a policy of deflation and depression will not only be pursued in this country, but will also be enforced abroad, the British will not only repudiate the gold standard, but they will also refuse to be bound by the Bretton Woods provisions themselves.

Responsible leaders in both countries recognize the danger that an economic split may occur, and see that it would be disastrous. They are doing their best to avoid it by such international agreements as have been proposed. But the future may not be entirely under their control. Both countries will have to coöperate if basic economic dislocations are not to play into the hands of the extremists. Serious unemployment in England, resulting from American depression, would greatly strengthen the movement for British insulation.

The basic understanding on which other coöperative plans have been erected is to be found in Article VII of the Lend-Lease Agreement with Great Britain. There it is set forth that there shall be "provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers." Every item on this agenda has been given subsequent expression at Bretton Woods and other proposed economic agreements, with the exception of a plan for domestic measures in the United States to expand employment in this country. But that is the key to the entire situation. If Britain could be convinced that we were resolved to maintain full employment, as the British themselves are pledged to do, she would probably take all the other risks incident to building a worldwide economic system of freedom of trade. If the United States does not appear serious in this matter, the rift will almost inevitably begin to develop. The greatest single requirement for the future peace of the world is a successful design for avoiding a serious depression in the United States during the next decade.

GEORGE SOULE

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London Letter

Why do we British fare so badly at international conferences? The London Trade Union Conference, which followed in Yalta's wake, was no exception. The great majority of the delegates were in solid agreement to disagree with the British TUC, and especially with the man, Secretary Sir Walter Citrine, who was chiefly responsible for convening the conference. The Latin American unions, led by the impressive Lombardo Toledano, represented a revolutionary tradition alien to respectable British unionists who were long ago recognized by state and employers. Nor did Britain's alleged appeasement of Argentine fascism help to create good will; Toledano might have found some ammunition in a recent article in the *Daily Mail* which referred to Argentina's "multi-million-pound postwar market" for British vehicles and explained that "Argentina would prefer to buy these from Britain because she considers that the British attitude to her new regime is more friendly than the American."

The CIO, led by shrewd Sidney Hillman, was riding to victory over the AFL, but the British were clinging to the International Federation of Trade Unions at whose pre-conference meeting AFL leaders had been prominent. Half the French delegates, and many members of other delegations, were Communists determined to form a new world federation, including the Russian unions; but on this the British stalled. Some of the forceful delegates from the British colonies had only recently been released from British prisons and could hardly feel attached to anything British. But whatever their differences with the British and with one another, the delegates were all united in their resolve to overthrow fascism. This fundamental unity is the foundation upon which the new world federation will be built, and the next conference must hammer out the common purposes which can inspire so heterogeneous a mixture of unions and men.

If you could overhear the political discussions in London's factories and pubs you would still find that every now and then the talk came back to Greece. On the one side would be those who claim that only British intervention prevented Greek massacring Greek; on the other would be those who denounce Churchill's action in Greece as an overt attack in a far-flung campaign against the new forces of European Resistance. Backing was given to the one camp by Sir Walter Citrine when he returned from Athens for the trade-union conference. His main concern was to reassure worried relatives and friends that British soldiers in the Greek theatre had been carrying the torch of democracy into a land rent by fratricidal strife. Critics are hoping that later on, Brother Papworth, first Communist on the TUC General Council and member of the follow-up delegation to supervise Greek union elections, will take the stand against Citrine. Moderates in the opposition were at the same time heartened by a remarkable series of articles written by *News Chronicle* editor Gerald Barry, who had also been visiting Greece. He laid blame both on the EAM and the British government, but said in conclusion:

> On a short and narrow view, helped by the follies of the Left, our policy in Greece may seem to have been justified by events. On a historical view, any settlement of the Greek affair that fails to give due hope and confidence to the Left is certain to be proved a disastrous failure. . . . The huge danger overhanging the world is that when Hitler has gone his predestined way, and, with unparalleled human suffering, freedom and peace have been reclaimed, his Bolshevik bogey may still be found, grinning in triumph amid the ruins. In Greece, as in the world, it is the task of British policy to make this tragedy impossible. But it will not be made impossible there or anywhere else by supporting reaction or pretending that strong popular feeling is due to the machinations of a small extremist clique.

Housing is a word which appears more and more frequently in the headlines. Only 150,000 houses have been built since 1939; 300,000 have been destroyed or damaged beyond repair by bombs. Four million, a third of all the houses in the country, have been damaged but not rendered uninhabitable; although most of these have now been repaired, V2's are still adding to the destruction. In consequence, the bombed-out and many of the 850,000 couples married since 1939 are sharing makeshift homes or flats. In London, which has suffered the most, some of them are moving joyfully from bombed basements into temporary huts. Tens of thousands are waiting anxiously for the vaunted prefabricated houses. So far Mr. Sandys, Minister of Works and Churchill's son-in-law, has delivered only four of these in London; he will become one of the worst-hated men in the country unless he can do better. People were excited when they were told that prefabricated houses were to be shipped from the United States; but they are gradually learning to distrust all promises. Housing may dominate the coming election as much as it will dominate the economic scene in postwar Britain.

No one really claimed it was very important, but some tempers were ruffled recently by a tactless letter sent out to British air operators by Mr. Rutledge-Bermingham Jr. of the Mission for Economic Affairs, Embassy of the United States, 1 Grosvenor Square, London. Mr. Rutledge-Bermingham said that British

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operators might now buy Douglas DC-3's at a maximum price of $100,000, and Lockheed Lodestars for $68,000. But the FEA in Washington wanted British applicants to specify the routes at present being served and, in detail, the uses to which the new planes would be put. The *Times's* aeronautical correspondent, smarting under the realization that the first British transporters (Avro Tudors) will not be ready for some months, remarked primly: "There is some surprise that a business offer should have been sent out from such a mission at a time when we are still at war and when the British aircraft industry, engaged almost entirely on war production, is unable to supply British transport machines." And the leading aviation journal, the *Aeroplane*, let fly with the crack that "United States 'bagmen' are showing indecent haste in their anxiety to collar the world's markets. . . . Incidentally, we hope any operators who received this letter were not so foolish as to give away all their future plans."

London FLEET STREET

Labor Showdown in Detroit

Labor and management in the automotive industry appear to be headed for an inevitable showdown, and the labor-relations picture in Detroit, the "arsenal of democracy," is one of suspicion, distrust and ever mounting antagonism. Strikes are on the increase, in size, duration and importance to the war effort. They are the outward manifestation of a smoldering unrest among the auto workers that starts with the rank and file in the plants, and finds ultimate expression among the top officers of the UAW-CIO—the largest union in the country.

At the conclusion of the recent Detroit hearing of the Mead senatorial investigating committee, R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, said: "It looks as though the automobile manufacturers want a fight, and if they do, we'll have to be ready for them."

The Mead Committee hearings were called ostensibly to find out whether there is a manpower shortage in Detroit, and whether manpower is being used efficiently. They were to have a bearing on whether a national labor-draft law was necessary. But the actual result of the hearings was to bring into the open the deep-seated conflict between labor and management in Detroit and to show that in this conflict are the seeds of a major battle on the production lines after the war.

The keynote of the basic management-labor struggle was set by George Romney, managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production. Romney blamed the union, or at least a "militant minority" in the union, for trying to "usurp the functions, responsibility and authority of management." He claimed that most workers want to produce more, but that the union stewards prevent them. He charged union leaders with causing a 25 to 50-percent reduction in efficiency.

On the other hand, the leaders of the UAW-CIO are convinced that management is ganging up on them, that there is a definite conspiracy on the part of the automotive concerns to destroy the union in the postwar period. The union and the workers see ahead a return to the speed-up, a take-home pay envelope based on a 40-hour week which will greatly cut wages, and strict disciplining of workers for minor infractions.

Union leaders point out that through such a policy there can be no full employment after the war. Only by holding profits to a reasonable level and by maintaining high wages can postwar purchasing power be attuned to an economy of abundance.

That strikes in the automotive industry have been growing during recent months is undeniable. The union admits it; the facts show it. Romney charged at the hearings that there were more strikes in 1944 than in 1937, the year of the sitdowns. Most of them have been short, however, and have been settled by the direct intervention of top UAW-CIO leaders.

Thomas presented Bureau of Labor Statistics figures to prove that in 1944 time idle during strikes was six-tenths of one percent of all time worked, as compared with 2.5 percent in 1939. He told the Mead Committee: "It is my conviction that the bulk of UAW-CIO strikes have taken place in plants where management policies have sought deliberately to provoke such stoppages. I can explain recent actions of the Chrysler Corporation and the Briggs Manufacturing Company only as direct attempts to inspire work-stoppages among their employees."

Reasons for the unrest among the auto workers are not hard to find. The failure to obtain any relief from wage rates that are tied down by the Little Steel formula is one obvious cause. The UAW-CIO was one of the first unions to adopt a so-called "equality of sacrifice" program for the war. It agreed not to strike, and to accept wage controls, provided the government would force equal sacrifices on management in the form of profit controls and lowered salaries. Today hollow laughter greets mention of equality-of-sacrifice. The union made the sacrifices, they say, and management gets higher salaries and higher profits.

Even more important is the union's claim that ever since the war, management has refused to negotiate even the most minor grievances, and has preferred to throw all of them into the already full hopper of the War Labor Board. Walter B. Reuther, vice-president of the union, says that management "has discouraged union efforts to settle differences at the plant level."

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Harry W. Anderson, vice-president in charge of personnel for the General Motors Corporation, cites figures to disprove this charge in GM plants. In the Chevrolet plant in Flint, Anderson says, 82 percent of all grievances filed by the union over a 14-month period were settled by foremen at the first step of the grievance procedure, while only 3 percent went to the impartial umpire—the top step in the corporation grievance procedure.

Anderson is equally vigorous in denying the union's claim that industry is trying to use the war to bust unions. He complained, however, of the "hate-management campaigns which have created a dangerous attitude in the minds of our workers."

Whether certain locals of the UAW-CIO have indulged in "hate-management" campaigns or not, there is no denying that the theme song for many months of Mr. Romney, who told the Mead Committee he spoke for the entire automotive industry, has been one of hatred toward the unions. His principal charge has been that the unions are trying to "usurp the powers of management."

But his charge sounds rather empty when it is coupled with a typical management complaint—that the union fails to discipline employees for loafing on the job. As the union leaders have often pointed out, such discipline is a management function and must be carried out by management. The UAW-CIO and the War Production Board frequently have joined in asking the automotive concerns for labor-management committees to work on problems of speeding war production. Should such a committee really succeed, it might become a means of disciplining malingerers. But the committees, in most plants, are still to be formed.

Another cause of contention was introduced at the Mead Committee hearings by Anderson, who charged that most of the serious strikes in GM plants have been caused by the refusal of "small groups" to meet "production standards which we knew to be very reasonable." The union, however, claims that management generally is trying to speed production now, with an eye to the postwar competitive market.

Management has not been too vigorous heretofore about getting the last ounce of production from every employee during the war, the union claims, because much of the work is done on a cost-plus basis to the government. This was exemplified at the Mead hearing by testimony concerning the Packard company.

M. F. Macauley, manufacturing control manager for the company, testified that production in the airplane-engine division was 76 percent of schedule during January, 1945, while in the marine-engine department it was 96 percent of schedule. It later was testified that aircraft was on a cost-plus, while marine engines were on a fixed-fee, basis.

The union admits that, since its inception, it has cut production by about 10 percent, but insists this was necessary to combat the evils of the speed-up system which made nervous and physical wrecks of workers in the days before unionism.

Specific charges of worker-idleness were made concerning the Packard plant, which makes the important Rolls-Royce aircraft engine used in so many British planes. To the charge that Packard and other plants were not working at capacity, Norman Matthews, regional director of the UAW-CIO, replied that most of this had been caused by the manufacturers' hoarding of labor. When labor is hoarded, there is bound to be loafing, because at one time in the Packard plant "there were hundreds of workers with nothing to do." To management's charges that union stewards take too much time off to settle grievances, he said that if the time had not been spent in that way, many unsolved grievances would be "in management's lap" and even more time would be lost before they could be settled.

The men in the plants, too, have been schooled to meet fixed production schedules, and this habit exists even in wartime. When Colonel Raymond Anthony of the Army Air Forces, the military representative in the Packard plant, was asked whether the army doesn't want all of the Rolls Royce engines it can get, he replied: "No, only what the schedule calls for."

Small wonder, then, that the workers do their production stint for the day, then take it easy.

Packard officials complained that their time-study experts were excluded from the plant by union stewards. John McDaniel, chairman of the UAW-CIO shop committee, replied that the union contract calls for coöperation with management on time studies and that such coöperation frequently is given.

What is to be done about the conflict?

Reuther suggests that the "central need is for planning." He asks an immediate labor-management-government conference to "explore the question of achieving maximum war production and maximum use of labor, and to examine the techniques for maintaining full employment during the period of transition from war to peace production."

To charges that the workers are loafing, Thomas replies that the workers are "turning out a lot of the materials of war." He states that, while employment increased in 1944 by 69 percent above the 1939 level, the amount of goods shipped from these same plants was 143 percent above the 1939 figure.

He suggests a five-point program to help achieve maximum manpower use: increasing use of women, a system of voluntary inter-plant transfers, a genuine check-up of labor utilization, wage adjustments to meet critical programs and increased efficiency of operation.

The Mead hearings raised a question: Where is the trouble in Detroit going to end? So far neither labor nor management has an answer.

Detroit, Mich. DANIEL L. WELLS

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Washington Notes

War and Peace

HIGH AUTHORITIES HERE have no doubt the German General Staff knows it is licked. The German armies are hopelessly outclassed and outnumbered. This present, supreme, all-front drive will continue until Anglo-American armies, moving west, meet Russian armies, coming east. The only reasonable explanation for the continued German resistance is the suicidal Nazi will to provide breeding-ground for later, postwar revival. Meanwhile the question of "hard" or "soft" peace for Germany is pretty well solved. It solved itself. When Allied observers inspected what bombs had done to German cities, they knew the answer. The cities are ruined. Furthermore, unless Germans stop fighting and get in harvests this year, many will starve—the word is starve—in 1946.

How long will America's orgy of hate last against Germany after her defeat? One can foresee pretty well what may happen: the sadistic pleasure over prostrate Germany's suffering; the sentimental revulsion, after a year or two, reacting possibly against Britain, France, Russia. These extremes will be terribly hard to avoid. It is not too early to think ahead. Leon Henderson has already reported to Roosevelt that the proposed three-way partition of Germany is simply unworkable; that in supplies, commerce and communications she is an economic unit and sooner or later must be treated as such.

The European war moves to its end and it seems appropriate to recall how the Chicago *Tribune* (World's Greatest Newspaper) carried the screaming, block-print headline "FDR'S WAR PLANS!" in a copyrighted Washington dispatch by Chesley Manley (now in the armed services) three days before Pearl Harbor, Thursday, December 4, 1941. This dispatch purported to tell secret Army and Navy Joint Board military plans, and what America would do if she got into the war. I have just reread the dispatch. With some notable exceptions, it offered the Japs and the Nazis a tolerable outline of America's potential war plans. It quoted an official document from the Army War College, certainly improperly obtained, not concealing, but boasting, that it was "prepared by the army and navy joint board, signed by General George C. Marshall and Admiral Harold R. Stark." This document revealed to Axis powers the Marshall-Stark plans, if America were attacked, of "gradual encirclement" . . . "an American air offensive against Germany from bases in the British Isles" . . . "for 10,045,658 in the armed services." . . . "Five million men will be sent overseas." Where the United States high command went wrong was in forecasting that Russia will be "militarily impotent by July 1, 1942." On the other hand, our high command recognized from the start that the German people would not overthrow the Nazi regime. I wonder if there is any other nation where a document of this sort could have been published with impunity, in a military crisis, two days before war? Under the British Official Secrets Act the author would, of course, have been jailed.

A workable postwar peace is threatened more, I am afraid, by what Congress may do to proposed international agreements on the economic front than by its reception of Dumbarton Oaks, vital though that is. For example the Mexican water treaty, which all Latin America is watching, is now facing a Senate filibuster. Herbert Hoover has come out against it. (Hoover, you remember, in the light of his experience as "an engineer," vetoed the TVA in 1931, on the ground that "this is not liberalism, it is degeneration.") There is also a big congressional fight shaping up against the Chicago air agreements. And last week the long-awaited American Bankers' Association drive started against Bretton Woods.

I watched this offensive get under way and must confess it was expertly done. Were the bankers against Bretton Woods? Dear me no, not at all! The AP dispatch next day explained, without a wink, that the bankers were merely saying they could accomplish the objectives of Bretton Woods "at half the cost." Saving money for the taxpayers—that's all. What this meant was that they would cut it in two. The bank spokesmen failed to explain that, in dropping the proposed monetary fund providing government control, they would almost certainly wreck the whole 44-nation agreement. This oblique assault shows a deft touch, attributed last week by Senator Pepper to Winthrop Aldrich, Chase National Bank board chairman.

Mr. Aldrich may just be trying to save the taxpayers' money by improving Bretton Woods, but that isn't what he told Russian Bretton Woods delegate, I. Zlobin, who wrote an account of how Aldrich entertained the Russian delegation, in *War and the Working Class*, October 15, 1944. It must have been a queer meeting. I have got hold of a translation of the Zlobin article, written half-humorously and without rancor, and I think this is the first United States reference to it. Zlobin says Aldrich sharply criticized Bretton Woods. In a petulant moment he called Mr. White "the pale shadow of Mr. Keynes," a queer idea in view of their clashing proposals. Aldrich preferred, he told the Russians, to dispose of his own capital himself, and to decide to whom he should lend money and on what terms. To him, Aldrich said, Messrs. Morgenthau and White were representatives of a "different world," since they were in favor of *active intervention of the state in financial policy*. That seems to just about sum it up.

The Senate, by a vote of 52-36, rejected Aubrey Williams for REA administrator. In retrospect, my memory will center on Senator Bushfield (R) of South Dakota, who led the attack on Williams. Bushfield looks like a cross between a temperance reformer and Andrew Jackson. He is the man whose 1942 election contributions included $5,000 from Colonel McCormick, $8,000 from the Pew family, $9,000 from the Mellon family, $2,500 from Irenée duPont, $4,000 from Lamott duPont, $2,500 from Alfred Sloan. It is curious to watch him, knowing these price tags. Well, Bushfield struck me as doing a plodding, conscientious job of character-assassination. If there was a Dies Committee smear against Williams he failed to drag out, I missed it. Bushfield hasn't the acumen to be a leader, but his vote will always be safe. I think the Pews and duPonts got good value for their money.

Washington T. R. B.

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Varieties of Legend

Dark of the Moon, by Howard Richardson and William Berney. Forty-sixth Street Theatre, March 14, 1945.
The Deep Mrs. Sykes, by George Kelly. The Booth Theatre, March 19, 1945.

THERE are a great many things to be said about "Dark of the Moon," as a promising sign in the theatre, as an encouraging intention of the poetic, an effort toward the use of folk and poetic matter, and an effort to enrich and dilate the substance of our theatre material. It is even encouraging as a venture on the part of Messrs. Shubert, who present this production; for by now they must be almost as sick as some of their audiences of the monotony and sterility of most of our Broadway set-up. But much of this about "Dark of the Moon" could be expressed only in a lengthy article, and perhaps not then: the play would have to be seen for most of these points to have any proper conveyance.

The authors of this story of the Smoky Mountains and its settlements and coves, are two young Southerners, Howard Richardson, a graduate in playwriting of the University of Carolina's Playmakers, and William Berney of Alabama; and three years ago their play won the annual Maxwell Anderson award for the best poetic play of the year. It was given its first production last autumn at the Cambridge Summer Theatre by Mr. John Huntington, who is supervisor of the present production.

The beginning of the idea derives, we are told, from one of the many ballads brought over with the first settlers and still current in the Southern mountains. It is from one of the two hundred and more versions of "Barbara Allen":

> A witch boy from the mountain came
> A pinin' to be human,
> For he had seen the fairest gal,
> The blue-eyed Barbara Allen.
>
> "O Conjur Man, O Conjur Man,
> Please do this thing I'm wantin',
> Just change me to a human man,
> For Barbara I'd be courtin'."

The story evolved from this is fairly complicated and includes too many elements of plot and motif to achieve the simplicity that is necessary for the poetic and for the finality and plain image that would be truly dramatic in its kind. The theme of the soul not wanting to be bound and of the witch spirit wanting to be human underlies the play as a whole. With this would go sex, and with that comes the theme of salvation, and on top of that the supernatural. On top of that comes a mass of folk material, ballads sung, mountain talk, axioms and wisecracks, and a revival meeting that ends in a climax with a vengeance. The problem of pulling all that together in the play and in the production, and at the same time of avoiding the temptation to give Broadway what it wants by way of the orgastic and the good old dirty, is something indeed to contemplate. Nobody would say that "Dark of the Moon" solves all that; but the fact remains that a great many fine things are present and fine things dreamed of.

All this is more important here than the story, which turns on John, the witch boy, being given the chance to be human provided the girl he loves remains true to him throughout a year. There are the local swains in rivalry, the marriage away from the church—into which he is forbidden by the Conjur Man to go—the blackened witch child born to Barbara and promptly burned by the midwives, the revival on the very last day of John's year, the revivalist and the congregation putting Barbara into a state where she is subject to one of the buck youths, her death at last, and John's going back to the witch maidens.

From a number of genuine contributors to the various elements that make up this work of theatre art, really promising workers for our theatre, two especially stand out. Mr. George Jenkins' décor, with the mountain and the crags, the various other scenes introduced as removable units, shall we say, was highly beautiful in mood and in contrivance. His design for "I Remember Mama" has been much praised, but here, of course, the chance for imaginative creation is higher, the effect more telling.

The other special figure of this venture is Mr. Richard Hart, a newcomer, who plays the witch boy. He has stage sense, bodily alertness, sincerity and a kind of inner rightness and pathos that should take him a long way.

No play by a dramatist who has written such capital American comedies as "The Torchbearers" and "The Show-Off," plus the more serious if less completely successful dramas that followed, can be quite so lightly brushed aside as some reviewers have done to "The Deep Mrs. Sykes," with which Mr. George Kelly returns to Broadway after too long an absence. The story of the new play is such an interweaving of personal motifs and of various characters that it could not be conveyed with any justice even in a lengthy synopsis. In fact these complications are not easily conveyed by the play itself, and tend to slow down its movement and its dramatic hold on our interest very considerably in the second of the two acts.

A kind of text for the general situation is quoted from the play in the program: "—and there are egoist women. And they say they're really deadlier than the male: because their egotism usually passes for mere feminine jealousy."

Mrs. Sykes, egotistical, intuitional according to her own estimate, and with some personal style and force, starts the trouble by suspecting her husband of sending flowers to a neighbor's wife, a concert pianist. She ends by poisoning the mind of Mrs. Fentriss, the drinking, unhappy, jealous wife of a doctor. A whole company of people who see each other socially (in the manner of one of our smaller cities but not the suburbs) are finally involved, and a chain of private secrets, loves, loyalties and heartaches is put together by the dramatist. They are all seen by him with serious dignity and not with any sensational-minded theatre itch and claptrap. The solutions of the various motifs are marked by the same right-minded approach and good sense.

Mr. Stanley Gilkey and Miss Barbara Payne, the play's producers, have given it a very handsome production, designed by Miss Eleanor Farrington, and a company that is well bred, convincing as to the kind of people portrayed, and competent all round. Mr. Kelly's directing is equally competent, highly expert in fact. Miss Jean Dixon has the most elaborately and fully written of the various parts, that of the drunken, unhappy Mrs. Fentriss. She gives a performance that is remarkably varied; it is witty, brilliant and finally powerful.

STARK YOUNG

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Old Man with a Horn

IF YOU LIKED the George Lewis records I recommended last year you will probably like six that Bunk Johnson made a year before that for a company called Jazz Information, which distributes its records through the Commodore Record Company, New York City. Four of Johnson's band—Lewis, Lawrence Marrero, Chester Zardis, Edgar Mosley—played on the Lewis records, and the other three—Johnson, Walter Decou, Albert Warner—play the same old New Orleans jazz, which for its blocky arrangements, unrefined passion and musical sense can seem as strange today as one of Griffith's movies. Johnson's band seems to me even less affected than Lewis' by any development that followed New Orleans jazz. And they play songs like a very nostalgic parade tune called "Blue Bells, Goodbye" and a number, "Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula," which was possibly used to accompany silent movies about Hawaii, that are even more tied to the early 1900's in New Orleans. Like Lewis' though, the records have the purity of playing which lived through the culture that produced the style and still lives passionately in the spirit of that culture. I like these records because the feeling that produced them hasn't been cornered, hammered down or polished to the point of obliteration; they don't remind me, as so much jazz does, of the quality of New York night clubs; they have an unashamed straightness, a convincing sweetness, belief, restraint and confidence; there is a strong sense in them for the power and effect of the record as a whole, and an indomitable driving-forward.

The musicians are all Negroes over forty years old, who have done little or no recording or playing in a jazz center other than New Orleans, and except for Johnson are almost unknown. Johnson started some fifty years ago at sixteen playing second cornet for Buddy Bolden, leader of the first important jazz band; he gave up playing in 1930 and then in 1942 came out of retirement and a part-time trucking job in New Iberia, Louisiana, to make some records for William Russell and the present set for Eugene Williams. I like his work as well as any I know. He plays almost completely in a middle or low register, his tone is a sweet, voice-like one, and he fills up the whole center of his band with a good deal of subtlety—he hides all of the effort and there isn't a sign of the band-squashing exhibitionism practised by so many jazz-band leaders. He is precise and elegant in the manner of the best old jazz players, plays a minimum number of notes and creates his records for their ensemble effect. Lewis is less ferocious on these records than on his own, but he shows the same great capacity to get in and around anything and anybody with a very expressive, bloated-sounding clarinet. He plays the same fiercely sweet solos and does less of his mechanical, flutelike brocading. The rhythm production, which seems mainly Marrero's banjo, is unvarying, unrestrained and as shocking as I like for jazz, and it has less tin than you expect from so much banjo. Albert Warner's trombone is limited and bullying enough to be pretty irritating, and occasionally he and Johnson produce something that sounds like a perpetually swinging rusty gate.

The best of these numbers are probably on two records, one with "Franklin Street Blues" and a hoary rag called "Weary Blues," and another with "Sobbin' Blues" and a parade-spirited playing of "Dusty Rag." "Franklin Street" is one of the least tinny songs the band plays, the music never limps and is, I think, full of good, unflinching spirit. It is the best indication of Lewis' florid jazz, which at different times is busy without sounding like a practising of scales, terribly sweet and clear or passionate to a shrieking point. "Weary Blues" is the most ungraceful and for me the most irritating kind of ragtime song, but a good example of the single-thread quality of Johnson's arranging in which there is little wandering, a great deal of ordered drive and intense, neat improvising, and no falling off of spirit. "Sobbin' Blues" is a grief-stricken blues played very beautifully. It consists mainly of the melody, played in Johnson's best golden manner, a dogmatic, thoroughly worked out improvisation by him, and a repeat of that with Lewis' clarinet wailing the melody as sourly as he can above the trumpet. I also like "Blue Bells, Goodbye" because I like almost all New Orleans parade songs and because it has a faithful, pure, stalwart rendering of the melody by Johnson.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

ARMY FINDS A MAN WHO
ADMITS HE WAS A NAZI
Is Made Acting Burgomaster
of Ruined Saarbrücken
—*Head and subhead in the New York* Herald Tribune.

Indian peasants for centuries have ridden mules while their wives walked behind carrying their possessions on their heads. But along the Burma frontier the women now walk in front. Military authorities warned that land mines had been planted in the area.—*Dispatch from London to the Seattle* Post-Intelligencer.

"I'm pretty sure Mr. Moses can't do this to me because I saw him coming and rolled up my sleeves, and now I've got the Real Estate Board in one pocket and a bankroll in the other," said Mr. Siegel yesterday.—*Joseph Siegel, apartment-house builder, opposing Park Commissioner Moses' zoning-law amendment which would ban skyscrapers along Washington Square, New York City, as quoted in the New York* Herald Tribune.

Busy Little Bastards, Aren't We?

If there is anything anywhere to add to the misery of this tortured world, any blazing injustice, any despicable sham, any foul deed—you may be sure that the *New Republic* and the *Nation* are for it.—*From an article, "Journals of Opinion," by Alex Small, in the Chicago Sunday* Tribune.

Total-Peace Department

A fleet of luxury limousines is being prepared for the "Victory march" through the streets of Berlin. These cars will be used by British Ambassadors and officials of the diplomatic corps when they make a triumphal entry into German cities, says the London *Daily Mail*.—*From the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Religion and the Peace

SIR: The Rev. L. M. Birkhead in your March 12 issue objects to the point of view of the 1,600 Christian ministers who recently petitioned that representatives of establishments of religion not be invited to the peace table.

He raises two objections: (1) Religious establishments have interests and therefore should be represented; (2) "No powerful spiritual or moral force in the world should be prevented from exercising the full measure of its influence in bringing about a just and lasting peace and a better world order." Finally Dr. Birkhead says, "Why not invite representatives of all the major religious organizations of the world to present their views?"

This final suggestion shows how silly the whole idea is. Just picture, if you can, the howling chaos of the myriad "jarring sects" at any table calling itself a peace table.

As to the influence of the papacy upon current events, let Dr. Birkhead be reassured. The shape of things to come is being molded day by day by such personages as Robert Murphy, William Bullitt, Archbishop Spellman, Carlton Hayes, none of whom is quite alien to the Vatican point of view.

Why does Dr. Birkhead identify religious groups *per se* with moral forces? What about Hirohito, one of the greatest religious forces on this planet?

Our 1,600 ministers called America back to her senses. Their appeal was far more moderate and temperate than the occasion demands. America will ignore this appeal to her peril. There is too much damned mental and moral fat behind the ears and in the heart of America. Must we always wait for Russia to speak out against moral evil? Dr. Birkhead knows perfectly well that this war began in Spain in 1936 and that the forces arrayed on one side were Franco, backed by Hitler, Mussolini and the papacy, and that the only power which lifted a finger to help the victims of this unholy gang was Russia. Who silenced the conscience of America so that we stood by and allowed the Spanish people to be put in chains? What power is this that can twist good men to its evil uses?

KENNETH LESLIE, Editor,
New York City The *Protestant*

Politics for the Underprivileged

SIR: Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asserts in his new book [*A Rising Wind*], reporting on race relations among American soldiers in the European theatre of operations, that he found more race prejudice among officers than among enlisted men.

The line of division between officers and men is largely economic, since officers—especially at the beginning of the war effort—were selected chiefly from business executives and men with college training, not from manual workers. The fact that officers showed more race prejudice than enlisted men suggests therefore that Negroes should seek as their natural allies in the struggle for racial justice, the working class, rather than those who are economically privileged. Certainly that is in line with our experience in New York State in the effort to get the state FEPC law adopted.

The state Chamber of Commerce, representing the bigger businesses, and the state Bar Association, representing the more prosperous lawyers, opposed the law, while both the State Federation of Labor of the AFL, and the State Industrial Union Council of the CIO supported it. Let us hope then that this sort of political alliance between those who are economically underprivileged, *i.e.*, the workers, and the racially underprivileged such as Negroes, will continue. Through it we may hope to win other progressive measures, such as better social security.

CONSUELO C. YOUNG,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York City

A Reader on W. L. White

SIR: Thank you for the excellent review by Bruce Bliven of William L. White's *Report on the Russians*, in your issue of March 19.

The advance sections of Mr. White's book published in the *Reader's Digest* had indicated to me a serious bias on Mr. White's part. I did not have the first-hand information to meet many of White's hostile reports on Russian conditions, but Mr. Bliven has supplied this lack. In addition he has slapped Mr. White's ears down with entire good temper and with devastating facts.

Since the prestige of White's name is considerable, it will seem to many Americans a sound authority for uneasy views of the Russians as our allies. Mr. Bliven's article is a wholesome corrective.

Wayzata, Minn. E. A. COOK

From The New Republic Mail Bag

George H. Fisher, of South Gate, California, writes to us about the Mexican Water Treaty, now pending in the Senate, which he says is far from embodying the Good Neighbor policy. It is instead, Mr. Fisher charges, a front for "imperialistic exploitation" of cheap Mexican labor by big United States cotton interests, who, with the water from Boulder Dam which the treaty would make available for use on the Mexican side of the border, will move their plantations into Mexico "to escape prevailing wages of local labor and to dodge our rigid corporation laws."

Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black will receive the Thomas Jefferson Award, given annually by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to the Southerner who best upholds the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, at a dinner in Washington, D. C. on April 3. Speakers at the dinner will include Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Judge Fred Vinson, Senator Claude N. Pepper and others.

Proclamation of a special Dumbarton Oaks week, from April 16 to April 22, has been asked in an appeal sent to all state Governors and signed by 36 national organization. The plan for the week, which originated with the American Association for the United Nations, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York City 18, provides for a program of rallies and forums to foster better understanding of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and concludes with church services on Sunday, April 22, and prayers for the success of the San Francisco Conference, which will open almost immediately thereafter.

April 8-14 has been designated as "Clean Out Your Clothes Closet Week" by the United Nations Clothing Collection, 100 Maiden Lane, New York City 5, which is conducting a drive to collect serviceable used clothing to send to war-devastated areas overseas. In many communities there will be house-to-house collections between April 15 and April 25, and location of clothing depots where contributions will be received will be announced locally. *New Republic* readers are urged to contribute to this drive.

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Books in Review

Means Laid End to End

THOUGH it is often said that the novelist today has a hard time competing with the journalist, it seems rather the other way round. The best journalist, whose facts we automatically receive as fictions bearing no relation to our own past or future experience, has a hard time competing with any novelist whose "fictions" we can incorporate into our intimate lives. Of course the reporter has the advantage of being able to present the most outrageous facts without question, while a novelist is unable to make a single mistake in the portrayal of reality without eventually getting caught. But in wartime, when the incredibility of events forces us to live largely in the realm of unreal facts, it should be all the easier for an artist to shock us back into the real world of experience.

There is another reason, even more pertinent to Alex Comfort's brilliant novel,[1] for the calm daily acceptance of horror. We *feel* horror only if we are forced to doubt the general purpose of something. As in a surgical operation, we are horrified if we suspect the surgeon of being somehow deranged. But so long as he appears to have a purpose in view—any purpose—there is no limit, obviously, to the amount of ghastliness the human mind will accept and even endure from the surgeons of its choice.

Alex Comfort, who believes that the modern state is so constructed that it cannot make war against other states, but only against people—including its own—can hardly be said to have accepted the general purpose of the present war. For him there is real horror, residing moreover in this very capacity of the mind to dissociate itself:

> The man who flies the bomber or murders the Jews has no more moral insight into that part of his existence than the gentleman who believes himself to be Louis XIV.

But while it may be useful to the moralist to make this metaphorical distinction between the "insane" majority who live with facts and the "sane" minority who live with reality, it is very dangerous for novelists and historians:

> If they were simple thugs I'd know how to deal with them. But how must one treat the thousands of good citizens in every country who do the most bestial and preposterous things from a sense of the highest moral duty?

The artist in every age has had to deal with an insane majority and he has always had to treat them *as though they were sane*, even while they were busy committing murder and suicide and otherwise subordinating the Means of life to some collective End. At any rate, this extraordinarily talented young British artist has written prophetically enough of our own Ends—as revealed in our use of the term "Germans" instead of "the Nazi State"—and of the Means we have already employed against other European people. Against a remarkable background of experience he has dealt realistically with horror, as symbolized by the disordered purposes of France just before and during the Occupation. And wherever the moral ideal called "sanity" does not interfere with his passionate description of "insanity" as it exists, Mr. Comfort reveals a genius for the novel which may yet place him in the first rank of artists. He is only 25.

With deliberate skill he has projected his whole first section through the eyes of a French machinist obsessed by fear of sexual impotence; that is, by the fear that this inadequacy will be publicly exposed, destroying his competitive status with other men. (The impotence disappears after the 1940 retreat, when he is perforce relieved of all competitive and collective responsibility.) While this particular vision of life is a common one, in which machines become identified with women, and women are regarded with either hope or fear according to their therapeutic function as sexual agents, Mr. Comfort has used it with conscious insight as an example of dissociated thinking. It is also a wonderful instrument for recording horror, since people are seen with great visual clarity in their least human aspects—as mechanical objects or agents. There is a scene of two steeplejacks dangling from their broken belts at the top of a huge industrial chimney which, for sheer inhuman grotesquerie, rivals anything in Kafka.

In order for the machinist to become an individual, recognizing the collective horror of this life and this vision, he must first *experience* horror, in the form of doubt; the total breakdown of authority during the retreat provides ample stimulus. The book begins and ends with the meaningless pattern of industrial bloodshed, in which the war intervenes as only a negligible variation of chaos. But at least under German control the workers muster enough resentment to "strike," even though it leads only to death or deportation. And the intellectual overcomes his "intellectual impotence" sufficiently to try sabotage, even though his first attempt, killing several Frenchmen and no Nazis, teaches him that only the psychopath can indulge in individual anarchy; the sane man needs group sanction for violence.

Since no group sanction is immediately forthcoming which would provide any way of fighting the Greater Evil, let alone the Lesser, one feels that Mr. Comfort is forced back on the notion that evil resides entirely in the human habit of subordinating life to various heavens-on-earth. This is not to say that the resistance movement would have solved his novelistic problems, but only that his characters begin to function in this vacuum as philosophical points in an argument. For example, the identification of a hypothetically "correct" Nazi, *before* he has committed any crimes, with the French saboteur who falls into the Nazi error of believing that "history must be lubricated with the grease of human lives"—this has only a philosophical meaning for us.

Needless to say, the faults of this book are extremely intelligent faults; there isn't a "damned Jerry" or a stiff upper lip in the whole performance. No one becomes a hero

[1] The Power House, by Alex Comfort. New York: The Viking Press. 464 pages. $3.

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for simply allowing himself to be pushed around; in fact he becomes a villain. But I think it is the sense of horror, rather than a true sense of the insolubility of human problems, which lends tragic weight to a series of magnificent scenes but causes the novel as a whole to end inconclusively, rather than tragically. At least I remain filled with a sort of non-combatant, anticipatory horror peculiar to civilians, perhaps. It may be only a few months before we are reading liberal articles entitled "After the Resistance Movement, What?"

As an unconscious revelation of small-time American evil, and as a kind of literary freak, Mr. Sylvester's novel[1] can be doubtfully recommended. Written with all possible vulgarity of thought and style, it contains enough living details of experience and enough hatred of art, intellect, people, life itself, to make it a terrifying document. Its subject is a sinful pedant, an anthropologist obsessed by thoughts of sex, whose morality makes adultery a more serious crime than murder; he finds spiritual salvation with the Penitentes of New Mexico. "Thank God I feel no pleasure," cries this conscientious reader of Kraft-Ebing as he submits himself to the communal whip, "Thank God I'm not a Masochist!" Later anthropologists may find that in this reverberating sentence Mr. Sylvester has unwittingly contributed the shortest possible description of twentieth-century civilization.

MARJORIE FARBER

Theme with Variations

Poems: New and Selected, by Richard Eberhart. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. Poets of the Year. 30 pages. $1.
The Phoenix and the Tortoise, by Kenneth Rexroth. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. 100 pages. $2.50.
Flight into Darkness, by Ralph Gustafson. New York: Pantheon Books. 96 pages. $2.
No Arch, No Triumph, by John Malcolm Brinnin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 73 pages. $2.

THAT MUCH of contemporary poetry is written rather for the eye than for the ear—even, perhaps the greater part of it—has been often observed, and that it constitutes a grievous loss to the poetry itself cannot, one thinks, be seriously questioned. And the loss is not a simple one, either. It is not merely a matter of sacrificing a certain sensuous or decorative quality, or combination of qualities, for whatever compensating virtues of exactness, austerity, unsentimentality, easy colloquialism: it is not merely beauty of form, beauty of sound, that is flung out so ruthlessly in this passion for the antipoetic: it is, on the contrary, in a very important measure the sense, the *meaning*, which gets itself inadvertently flung out, like the baby with the bath. Poetry, alas, is not science, it is not statistics, it is not algebra or geometry, it is not philosophy, it is not music. It may and should incorporate elements of these, but it can never attain to the cold, pure abstractness which is the principle they have in common without *ipso facto* ceasing to be itself. For the meaning of poetry, like the meaning of language itself, is double: it consists of both sense and sound: and paradoxically it might well be argued that the sense, the poetic sense, is more in the sound than in the so-called or obvious "mean-

[1] Dayspring, by Harry Sylvester. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 294 pages. $2.75.

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ing." It is precisely in the sound-effects, or more properly the sound-*affects*, and in its deliberate use of the feeling-tones and associations inherent in them, that poetry most characteristically takes its departure from prose. It is thus a perpetual renewal of language. It remembers that language is oral, that it must be whispered or spoken or shouted or sung, and that it is only in the knowing and ordering of these affective sound-values that language again becomes whole and our meaning complete. After science, or statistics, or algebra, or geometry, even after philosophy and music, poetry has the last word. In poetry, could it not be maintained? always comes man's final statement, at whatever point in the evolution of his awareness. It is the whole speech of the whole man. The feelings, the affects, are again reincorporated at a new level, no matter how complex the statement, and we speak once more as we should and must: not only of what we know, but also of what we consciously, and even unconsciously, *feel* about what we know.

To neglect or despise sound-values, therefore, is, practically speaking, to use only one half of the poetic language, and to the poet's cost. Impatient he may be with certain *kinds* of effect, for there are changing fashions in these as in all matters of form; but if he discards he must also invent. Mr. Eberhart, for example, shows that he is very much aware of this necessity, and even concerned about it, but one is hardly convinced by anything in his new selection that he is any nearer to his private solution. His "Groundhog" remains one of the most remarkable of contemporary poems, its Blakian intensity and fierceness of vision unimpaired, if not actually enhanced, by the wanton roughness of form, the perverse metrics; and the variant of it which appears in "Triptych," recast in the key of Jacobean canting and ranting, is almost as good. But Mr. Eberhart, either because his ear is defective or because he is overanxious to avoid the merely smooth, makes the not uncommon mistake of establishing violence and perversity as his norm, with the inevitable result that where everything shrieks and clashes, the uproar at last cancels itself out, and it is as if nothing had been heard at all. This is a great pity, for he has a wonderful energy of vision, together with a fine gusto in phrase and an enviably muscular capacity for compressed statement: if he could only be severe with himself, and canalize his gifts, instead of simply going hell-for-leather at his Idea, with capitals, he could be one of the very best of contemporary poets, as he is already one of the most exciting.

Mr. Kenneth Rexroth, who began his poetic career as an Objectivist, is now, with his new book, *The Phoenix and the Tortoise*, a welcome addition to the very small company of poets who are not afraid of long-form. The title poem is a long philosophical meditation, scientific in temper, pagan in flavor, historical in method, devoted, along with the shorter poems which follow, "to the discovery of a basis for the recreation of a system of values in sacramental marriage," to quote from the author's preface. One need not follow this, or agree with it, and one feels occasionally that some of the "largeness" in Mr. Rexroth's poem is akin to that somewhat specious and stagey largeness which California so impartially visits upon trees, fruits and prophets alike; but this is an impressive piece of work, very much alive intellectually, as impressive for its obvious integrity as for its range: here is a poet to be reckoned with. One's chief complaint, as with Mr. Eberhart, is over the matter of

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form, of sound-effect: but whereas Mr. Eberhart surfeits us with too much violence and cacophony, Mr. Rexroth goes to the opposite extreme and gives us no sound at all: particularly in the title poem, this is the most entirely visual poetry that one could imagine—visual, that is, in the sense that it is meant for the eye, on the printed page, and not at all for the gratification of the ear. It is limpid, it flows, it is always agreeably readable, but of mnemonic or sensuous or formal device it is usually disdainful, and for that reason, despite its intellectual vitality, it slips out of memory as fast as it is read. That Mr. Rexroth can do better about this when he wants to, is shown in such admirable short pieces, of a more descriptive sort, as "Now on this day of the first hundred flowers."

Much that one says of Mr. Eberhart can be said as pertinently of Mr. Ralph Gustafson, a young Canadian poet. But with a difference. Mr. Gustafson has Hopkins a little too much on his mind, he is determined to make things very hard for himself, and here we have tortured syntax, tortured order, tortured everything—anything, almost, if only to avoid the merely straightforward and formal and simple. But Mr. Gustafson has an eye, and he loves words and the feel of language, and for all its strainings after effect, this is an unusual first book.

Mr. Brinnin is a pegasus of another color entirely. The exception in this quartet of poets, he is an extremely competent, sometimes brilliant, exponent of form and tone-color, and what worries one about this new book of his is something else: it is the fact that it falls so much into a contemporary poetic "fashion." Here is all that baggage of tired and disillusioned intellectualism with which we are so familiar—the so carefully negative and latinate epithets, the continuous watchfulness to mitigate, to abstract, to deprecate, as if to feel too strongly, or too obviously, or not in terms of the self-contradictorily intricate, were somehow to be poetically indecent:

> The visions of an old cosmology
> And all who in its service die
> On rivieras of the intellect.

And the negative angels, and all the rest of it. This is a poetry that wants to be cosmic, but also to sneer at the cosmic, and itself; and what it adds up to is something very like decadence. But Mr. Brinnin often proves himself to be much better than the fashion he follows, and one does not doubt that he will do so again. CONRAD AIKEN

Teacher!

The Humanities in Higher Education in the South. Report of a Conference Held at Vanderbilt University, July 24-30, 1944. 50 pages. 25 cents.
The Rebirth of Liberal Education, by Fred B. Millett. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 179 pages. $2.
The Educational Process, by Luther P. Eisenhart. Princeton: The Princeton University Press. 87 pages. $1.
Teacher in America, by Jacques Barzun. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. 321 pages. $3.

FIFTY DELEGATES from thirty-two institutions of higher learning in the South gathered last July at Vanderbilt University for a six-day conference. In their report, which was adopted without dissenting votes, though one hopes not without a few blushes, appears the following passage:

Who is the good teacher of the humanities? Comprehensively and finally considered, he is the teacher who, through native endowment, through education, through vital social living, and through professional growth has achieved for himself the goals of humanistic education and who is able to bring this achievement to pass in his students. He is a practising humanist with the passion and the power to humanize others.

Already as a student in the school and in the college he will have been distinguished by intelligence, rich imagination and a warm personality. While it is not necessary that he come from a cultured home, the marks of such a background are to be desired. The off-balance teacher —whether it be the myopic expert, the shallow enthusiast or the brilliant crank —is dangerous to the cause of liberal education. The good teacher of the humanities should manifest progressively and by degrees, in college, in graduate school and finally in the profession, as the fruits of all the generative powers that have borne upon him, such characteristics as: vitality, which expresses itself in the form of infectious enthusiasm and wit born of the enjoyment of humane

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living; an original mind and a creative spirit fortified on the one hand by breadth of scholarship in the whole field of liberal education and the other by depth, with emphasis upon a particular humane discipline; interest in his students as persons; judicious taste; a positive philosophy of life; and, finally, a strong sense of dedication to teaching as a great and noble work.

This is a long quotation to introduce in a short review, but, aside from its value as Americana, it will explain why I feel apologetic to Messrs. Millett, Eisenhart and Barzun, whose books I had read before I took up the Vanderbilt pamphlet. I had intended to say that none of these books was really necessary, but I had forgotten, I now realize, what the academic mind can be. I had thought that Professor Millett was rather uncritical and even smug in his account of what a dozen colleges are doing to improve the teaching of the humanities, but his approach to the subject now seems almost perfectly realistic, and the plans he describes appear to be full of promise. Dr. Eisenhart, too, in his discussion of the honors plan at Princeton, clearly deserves praise because his proposals are concrete and his claims modest. As for Jacques Barzun, his virtues now shine forth so radiantly that I would be willing to award him the title of "good teacher of the humanities," even by Vanderbilt Conference standards, though I am afraid some of the conferees might think him either a "shallow enthusiast" or a "brilliant crank."

As a matter of fact, both Millett's and Eisenhart's books do have their good points, and Millett's forthright attack on the Ph.D. system, if one considers by whom and under what auspices it is made, is an event in academic history. Dr. Barzun, however, is the only one of the authors who keeps an eye on the general reader, and his book alone has more than professional interest. Since his strong points are realism, personal experience and common sense, *Teacher in America* is recommended to the Vanderbilt conferees, but anyone who is wondering what the shooting is all about will find it engaging and often informative. Dr. Barzun begins by discussing what a teacher does and how the principal subjects of the liberal-arts curriculum might be taught, and then goes on to such topics as college administration, Ph.D.'s, education for women and college salaries. Ninety percent of what he says is sound, and I have already retracted the criticism I formulated on first reading, which was that much of it could go without saying.

All four works are defensive in tone, for the authors know that college education is being attacked and that the humanities are under a particularly black cloud. All four try to point out what college administrations and individual teachers of the humanities can do to remedy the situation. However, as Dr. Eisenhart observes, the quality of college education has by and large been improving in the past century, and the basic trouble seems to be that the tasks imposed upon the educational system have grown vastly greater in the same period. The problem of education in a mass society has not been defined, let alone solved, and the patching up of courses and curricula, though it must go on and though it can be done relatively well rather than relatively badly, is no solution. What is wrong with the teachers is not that they are littler men than their predecessors but that they have a bigger job. Very few college teachers are the paragons envisaged by the Vanderbilt Conference, and some of them are pretty poor sticks, but the majority are hardworking and underpaid and—as all these books show—intermittently troubled by their failures. GRANVILLE HICKS

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The Economics of Peace

The Sinews of Peace, by Herbert Feis. New York: Harper and Brothers. 271 pages. $2.50.

MR. FEIS is in a peculiarly advantageous position to write about the economic problems of the peace, because for many years he has been occupied in surveying international economic relations as Adviser to the Department of State. His recent resignation from that Department has given him the opportunity to share his views with the public in complete frankness.

His book is not a long one, but covers concisely all the important topics in the field. After a brief statement of guiding principles, he discusses international monetary and investment proposals, the problems of trade, and the access to food and raw materials. In general, he favors the sort of program pursued by the Administration, but he adds other proposals which have not yet come from it. Most important of these is an international organization to advise the several nations how best to achieve the aims of an expanding economy and to call to account any who may adopt policies injurious to this end.

The book is written in a style which does not lend excitement or drama to its subject, but its worth is enhanced by the intimate knowledge and good sense of the author. G. S.

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A Reader's List

AMERICAN HANDBOOK: Prepared by the Office of War Information (Public Affairs Press, $3.75). This handbook was prepared by the Overseas Branch of the OWI for use in neutral and Allied countries outside the Western Hemisphere; Congress, fearful lest the OWI do propaganda on behalf of the Roosevelt administration, forbade it to distribute any printed matter of this character within the United States. Thereupon some members of Congress and several newspapers denounced the OWI for carrying out the provisions of the law, arguing that the agency must be ashamed of the *American Handbook*, since it was being kept from domestic distribution. That domestic distribution is now provided under the auspices of the American Council on Public Affairs. The book undertakes to give a rapid—extremely rapid—description of this country, primarily intended for an intelligent but ignorant foreigner. Brief sections describe the branches of the government, the army and navy, our constitution, the Monroe Doctrine, and the main interests of the American people in such fields as business, labor, farming, science, publishing, the arts, etc. This is in no sense a competitor of the *World Almanac*, and contains little that a well informed American does not already know in a general way.

THE DOCTOR'S JOB, by Carl Binger, M.D. (Norton, $3). This book, which won the 1945 Norton Medical Award, might more accurately be called "The Job of the Psychosomatic Practitioner." Most of its contents consists of a rapid, simple account of psychosomatic theory and practice, particularly as they refer to stomach ulcers, allergy, asthma, tuberculosis and high blood pressure. Dr. Binger is more liberal than most physicians in regard to socialized medicine; he writes exceptionally well, with clarity, humor and a sympathetic understanding of the patient's viewpoint. His book is modest, unpretentious, but useful to those who want a rather elementary discussion of our growing knowledge of the relation between mental and physical disease.

Crime and Punishment

THE IRON GATES, by Margaret Millar (Random, $2). The first hundred pages of Mrs. Millar's new book promise a story as absorbing as her earlier *Wall of Eyes*. However, the aberrations of a psychosis have their own rationale, and to disregard this leads only to a brand of Hollywood Grand Guignol. In spite of an excellent section on life in a sanitarium, this "psychological thriller" (publisher's billing) of why Lucille Morrow ran away from husband and family left me feeling I'd been had—in spades.

DIED IN THE WOOL, by Ngaio Marsh (Little, Brown, $2). More than a year after the murder of Florence Rubrick, New Zealand M.P. and wealthy sheep rancher, Roderick Alleyn, CID inspector now in New Zealand to investigate espionage activities, is assigned to the case. In a long, leisurely and intermittently interesting story, Alleyn gets both birds, for the criminal turns out to be supplying secret information to the enemy.

THE OUTSIDERS, by A. E. Martin (Simon and Schuster, $2). In an Australian city where a carnival is playing, Pel Pelham, a spruiker (sideshow barker), discovers that some of his friends the freaks are being blackmailed. Murder follows, and Pel works successfully with the police to trap the killer. Interesting for its unusual background and characters, but no great shakes as detection. E. H.

Contributors

Daniel L. Wells has been a Detroit newspaperman since 1930, and has worked both on the Detroit *Times* and the Detroit *Free Press*. He has specialized in covering labor for the *Free Press* during the past four years.

Fleet Street is the pseudonym of a London journalist and publicist.

Marjorie Farber, formerly an assistant editor of the New York *Times Sunday Book Review*, is now living in Norfolk, Virginia.

Conrad Aiken is the author of many books of verse and a Pulitzer Prize winner. His most recent poem, *The Soldier*, was published by New Directions last year.

Granville Hicks is the author of several books of criticism, fiction and biography. He was for several years a professor of English at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and has also been a resident adviser in the English Department at Harvard.

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